

Approved For Release 2000/08/29 : CIA-RDP79R00890A000200020016-6
DOCUMENT NO. 12

~~REF ID: A6512~~
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11 December 1953

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TEXT OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S UN ADDRESS

WITH

TASS SUMMARY UNDERLINED

Madame President, Mr. Secretary General and delegates:

When Secretary General Hammarskjold's invitation to address this General Assembly reached me in Bermuda, I was just beginning a series of conferences with the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and France on some of the problems that beset our world.

During the remainder of the Bermuda conference, I had constantly in mind that ahead of me lay a great honor. That honor is mine today as I stand here, privileged to address the General Assembly of the United Nations.

At the same time that I appreciate the distinction of addressing you, I also have a sense of exhilaration as I look upon this assembly.

Never before in history has so much hope for so many people been gathered together in a single organization. Your deliberations

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tion and decision during these somber years have already realized some of this hope.

But the great tests and the great accomplishments still lie ahead. And in the confident expectation of these accomplishments, I would use the office which, for the time being, I hold, to assure you that the Government of the United States will remain steadfast in its support of this body. This we shall do in the conviction you will provide faith which can bring this world lasting peace for all nations, and happiness and well being for all men.

Clearly, it would not be fitting for me to take this occasion to present to you a unilateral American report on Bermuda. Nevertheless, I assure you, that in our deliberations we thought to invoke those same great concepts of universal peace and human dignity which are so plainly etched in your charter.

Neither would it be a measure of this great opportunity merely to recite, however, hopefully, pious platitudes.

I therefore decided that this occasion warranted my saying

to you some of the things that have been on the minds and hearts
of my closest legislative and executive associates and on mine
for a great many months--thoughts I had originally planned to
say primarily to the American people.

I know that the American people share my deep belief that
if a danger exists in the world, it is a danger shared by all--
and equally, that if a hope exists in the mind of one nation,
that hope should be shared by all.

Finally, if there is to be advanced any proposal designed
to ease by even the smallest measure the tensions of todays
world, what more appropriate audience could there be than the
members of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

I feel impelled to speak today in a language that in a sense
is new--one which I, who have spent so much of my life in the
military profession, would have preferred never to use.

That new language is the language of atomic warfare.

The atomic age has moved forward at such a pace that every
citizen of the world should have some comprehension, at least in

comparative terms, of the extent of this development, of the
utmost significance to all of us. Clearly, if the peoples of
the world are to conduct an intelligent search for peace, they
must be armed with the significant facts of today's existence.

My recital of atomic danger and power is necessarily stated in United States terms, for these are the only incontrovertible facts that I know. I need hardly point out to this assembly, however, that this subject is global, not merely national in character.

On July 16, 1945, the United States set off the world's
first atomic test explosion.

Since that day in 1945, the United States of America has con-
ducted 42 atomic test explosions.

Atomic bombs today are more than 25 times as powerful as the weapons with which the atomic age dawned, while hydrogen weapons are in the ranges of millions of tons of TNT equivalent.

Today, the United States' stockpile of atomic weapons, which, of course, increases daily, exceeds by many times the

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explosive equivalent of the total of all bombs and all shells
that came from every plane and every gun in every theatre of war
through all the years of World War II.

A single air group, afloat or land based, can deliver a
destructive cargo exceeding in power all the bombs that fell on
Britain in World War II.

In size and variety the development of atomic weapons has
been no less remarkable. This development has been such that
atomic weapons have virtually achieved conventional status within
our armed services. In the United States services, the Army,
the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marine Corps are all capable
today of putting this weapon to military use.

But the dread secret and the fearful engines of atomic might
are not ours alone.

In the first place, the secret is possessed by our friends
and allies, Great Britain and Canada, whose scientific genius
made a tremendous contribution to our original discoveries and
the designs of atomic bombs.

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The Soviet Union has informed us that, over recent years, it has devoted extensive resources to atomic weapons. During this period, the Soviet Union has exploded a series of atomic devices including at least one involving thermonuclear reactions.

If at one time the United States possessed what might have been called a monopoly of atomic power, that monopoly ceases to exist some years ago. Therefore, although our earlier start has permitted us to accumulate what is today a great quantitative advantage, the atomic realities of today comprehend two facts of even greater significance.

First, the knowledge now possessed by four nations will eventually be shared by others, possibly all others.

Second, even a vast superiority in numbers of weapons, and a consequent capability of devastating retaliation, is no preventive, of itself, against the fearful material damage and toll of human lives that would be inflicted by surprise aggression.

The free world, at least dimly aware of the facts, has naturally embarked on a large program of warning and defense systems. That

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program will be accelerated and expanded.

But let no one think that the expenditure of vast sums for weapons and systems of defense can guarantee absolute safety for the cities and citizens of any nation. The awful arithmetic of the atomic bomb does not permit of such an easy solution. Even against the most powerful defense, an aggressor in possession of the effective minimum number of atomic bombs for a surprise attack could probably place a sufficient number of his bombs on the chosen targets to cause hideous damage.

Should an atomic attack be launched against the United States, our reactions would be swift and resolute. But for me to say that the defense capabilities of the United States are such that they could inflict terrible losses upon an aggressor--for me to say that the retaliation capabilities of the United States are so great that such an aggressor's land would be laid waste--all this while fact, is not the true expression of the purpose and the hope of the United States.

(Here TASS interpolated: "After stating that two 'atomic

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'colossi' exist in the world Eisenhower stressed the military might of the United States while asserting simultaneously that the United States purportedly created its atomic might only for defensive purposes against 'an aggressor.'")

To pause there would be to confirm the hopeless finality of a belief that two atomic colossi are doomed malevolently to eye each other indefinitely across a trembling world. To stop there would be to accept helplessly the probability of civilization destroyed--the annihilation of the irreplaceable heritage of mankind handed down to us from generation to generation--and the condemnation of mankind to begin all over again the ageless struggle upward from savagery toward decency, justice, and right.

Surely no sane member of the human race could discover victory in such desolation. Could anyone wish his name to be coupled by history with such human degradation and destruction?

Occasional pages of history do record the faces of the "great destroyers" but the whole book of history reveals mankind's never-ending quest for peace and mankind's God-given capacity

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to build.

It is with the book of history, and not with isolated pages, that the United States will ever wish to be identified. My country wants to be constructive, not destructive. It wants agreements, not wars, among nations. It wants itself to live in freedom and in the confidence that the people of every other nation enjoy equally the right of choosing their own way of life.

So my country's purpose is to help us move out of this dark chamber of horrors into the light, to find a way by which the minds of men, the hopes of men, the souls of men everywhere, can move forward peace and happiness and well being.

In this quest, I know that we must not lack patience.

I know that in a world divided, such as ours today, salvation cannot be attained in one dramatic act.

I know that many steps will have to be taken over many months before the world can look at itself one day and truly realize that a new climate of mutually peaceful confidence is abroad in the world.

But I know, above all else, that we must start to take these steps--now.

The United States and its allies, Great Britain and France, have over the past months tried to take some of these steps. Let no one say that we shun the conference table.

On the record has long stood the request of the United States, Great Britain, and France, to negotiate with the Soviet Union the problems of a divided Germany.

On that record has long stood the request of the same three nations to negotiate an Austrian state treaty.

On the same record still stands the request of the United Nations to negotiate the problems of Korea.

Most recently, we have received from the Soviet Union what is in effect an expression of willingness to hold a four power meeting. Along with our allies, Great Britain and France, we were pleased to see that this did not contain the unacceptable pre-conditions previously put forward by the Soviets.

As you already know from our joint Bermuda communique, the

~~United States, Great Britain and France have agreed promptly~~

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to meet with the Soviet Union.

The Government of the United States approaches this conference with hopeful sincerity. We will bend every effort of our minds to the single purpose of emerging from that conference with tangible results toward peace--the only true way of lessening international tension.

We never have, and never will, propose or suggest that the Soviet Union surrender what is rightfully hers.

We will never say that the peoples of Russia are an enemy with whom we have no desire ever to deal or mingle in friendly and fruitful relationship.

On the contrary, we hope that this conference may initiate a relationship with the Soviet Union which will eventually bring about a free intermingling of the peoples of the East and the West--the one sure, human way of developing the understanding required for confident and peaceful relations.

Instead of the discontent which is now settling upon Eastern Germany, occupied Austria, and the countries of Eastern Europe,

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we seek a harmonious family of free European nations, with none a threat to the other, and least of all a threat to the peoples of Russia.

Beyond the turmoil and strife and misery of Asia, we seek the peaceful opportunity for these peoples to develop their natural resources and to elevate their lot.

These are not idle words or shallow visions. Behind them lies a story of nations lately come to independence, not as a result of war, but through free grant of peaceful negotiation. There is a record of assistance gladly given by nations of the West to needy peoples and to those suffering the temporary effects of famine, drought, and natural disaster.

These are deeds of peace. They speak more loudly than promises or protestations of peaceful intent.

But I do not wish to rest either upon the reiteration of past proposals or the restatement of past deeds. The gravity of the time is such that every new avenue of peace, no matter how dimly discernible, should be explored.

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been explored--an avenue now laid out by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

In its resolution of November 18, 1953, this General Assembly suggested--and I quote "that the disarmament commission study the desirability of establishing a subcommittee consisting of representatives of the powers principally involved, which should seek, in private, an acceptable solution--and report on such a solution to the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than 1 September 1954."

The United States, heeding the suggestion of the General Assembly of the United Nations, is instantly prepared to meet privately with such other countries as may be "principally involved," to seek "an acceptable solution" to the atomic armaments race which overshadows not only the peace, but the very life, of the world.

We shall carry into these private--or diplomatic-- talks a new conception,

The United States would seek more than the mere reduction or elimination of atomic materials available for military purposes.

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It is not enough to take this weapon out of the hands of the soldiers. It must be put into the hands of those who will know how to strip its military casing and adapt it to the arts of peace.

The United States knows that if the fearful trend of atomic military buildup can be reversed, this greatest of destruction forces can be developed into a great boon, for the benefit of all mankind.

The United States knows that peaceful power from atomic energy is no dream of the future. That capability, already proved, is here--now--today. Who can doubt, if the entire body of the world's scientists and engineers had adequate amounts of fissionable material with which to test and develop their ideas, that this capability would rapidly be transformed into universal, efficient, and economic usage?

To hasten the day when fear of the atom will begin to disappear from the minds of the people and the governments of the East and West, there are certain steps that can be taken now.

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I therefore make the following proposal:

The governments principally involved, to the extent permitted by elementary prudence, to begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic energy agency. We would expect that such an agency would be set up under the aegis of the United Nations.

The ratios of contributions, the procedures and other details would properly be within the scope of the "private conversations" I have referred to earlier.

The United States is prepared to undertake these explorations in good faith. Any partner of the United States acting in the same good faith will find the United States is a hot unreasonable or ungenerous associate.

Undoubtedly initial and early contributions to this plan would be small in quantity. However, the proposal has the great virtue that it can be undertaken without irritations and mutual suspicions incident to any attempt to set up a completely acceptable

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The atomic energy agency could be made responsible for the impounding, storage and protection of the contributed fissionable and other materials. The ingenuity of our scientists will provide special safe conditions under which such a bank of fissionable material could be made essentially immune to surprise seizure.

The more important responsibility of this atomic energy agency would be to devise methods whereby this fissionable material would be allocated to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind. Experts would be mobilized to apply atomic energy to the needs of agriculture, medicine, and other peaceful activities. A special purpose would be to provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world. Thus the contributing powers would be dedicating some of their strength to serve the needs rather than the fears of mankind.

The United States would be more than willing--it would be proud to take up with others "principally involved" the development of plans whereby such peaceful use of atomic energy would be expedited.

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Of those "principally involved" the Soviet Union must, of course, be one.

I would be prepared to submit to the Congress of the United States, and with every expectation of approval, any such plan that would:

First--Encourage world-wide investigation into the most effective peacetime uses of fissionable material, and in the certainty that they had all materials needed for the conduct of all experiments that were appropriate.

Second--Begin to diminish the potential destructive power of the world's atomic stockpiles;

Third--Allow all peoples of all nations to see that, in this enlightened age, the great powers of the earth, both of the East and of the West, are interested in human aspirations first and foremost rather than in building up the armaments of war.

Fourth--Open up a new channel for peaceful discussion and initiate at least a new approach to the many difficult problems that must be solved in both private and public conferences if the

positive progress toward peace.

Against the dark background of the atomic bomb, the United States does not wish merely to present strength, but also the desire and hope for peace.

The coming months will be fraught with fateful decisions. In this assembly; in the capitals and military headquarters of the world; in the hearts of men everywhere, be they governed or governors, may they be the decisions which will lead this world out of fear and into peace.

To the making of these fateful decisions, the United States pledges before you--and therefore before the world--its determination to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma--to devote its entire heart and mind to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life.

I again thank the delegates for the great honor they have done me in inviting me to appear before them and listening so courteously.

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express his attitude on the question of banning atomic weapons.")

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